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SHORT APPEAL

TO THE
PEOPLE of GREAT-BRITAIN,

UPON THE
UNAVOIDABLE NECESSITY
OF THE
PRESENT WAR WITH OUR
DISAFFECTED COLONIES.

Proofs rise on Proofs, and fill the last the strongest.

YOUNG'S REVENGE,

The SECOND EDITION.

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SHORT APPEAL

TO THE

PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN

FROM THE

UNAVOIDABLE NECESSITY

OF THE

PRESENT WAR WITH OUR
DISAFFECTED COLONIES



Printed and Published by
J. W. & J. S. B. 1861

THE SECOND EDITION

LONDON:

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(The Trustees)

A

SHORT APPEAL,

&c. &c.

THE enemies of Great Britain labour hard to persuade the ignorant, that our dispute with America turns wholly upon the power assumed by Parliament to tax the Colonies, and tell us, that if this unfortunate claim was but once sensibly relinquished, tranquillity would be instantly restored between the Mother Country and her disaffected Provinces.

The foregoing state of the case however, is extremely fallacious; for the *original* object of contention has been long buried under a pile of new pretensions erected by the Colonies; and the Question is now no more, whether we are constitutionally entitled to impose a revenue upon the Americans, but whether we are constitutionally entitled to exercise any authority over them at all?

Our parliamentary claim to tax the revolted Provinces, was indeed the first *seeming* foundation of their complaints, but their *real* design in *complaining*, was to struggle for absolute independency. They took care it, is true, at the beginning of the dispute, to confine themselves to a single object, for fear of alarming us too much, and declared

in terms of the deepest humility, that if they were solely indulged with the liberty of granting their own money, they would in every thing else, pay the most implicit obedience to the authority of Parliament.

But when the Stamp Act was weakly repealed—when the disobedience of the Colonies was wickedly applauded by the first favourites of the people—when our very rulers declared, that the existence of the kingdom essentially depended upon America—when it became actually unpopular to talk of parliamentary powers, even within the walls of parliament; and when the nation grew so infatuated, as to celebrate with the wildest demonstrations of joy, the victory obtained by the Provinces over her own supremacy, the Provincials thought it needless to temporize any longer, and accordingly flew from claim to claim with the most astonishing insolence of rapidity.—In proportion as the Mother Country expressed an anxiety to comply with their wishes, they rose in their demands; till at length ascribing her concessions to timidity, they published a Bill of Rights in the year 1774; and in the year 1775 not only threw off all allegiance themselves, but invaded the colony of Canada, for daring to continue well affected to our government.

Such then being the *present* state of the dispute with America, it becomes extremely proper, when the British enemies of Great Britain, propose terms of accommodation for the Colonies, to examine what proposals the Colonies have made for themselves.

To prove that the war with America was
 3 wholly

wholly unavoidable, and to shew that the Colonies would not have been satisfied if, even *before* the commencement of hostilities, parliament had relinquished the claim of Taxation; the following resolution from the Provincial Bill of Rights, pages 7, 8, and 9, published in the proceedings of the Congress in 1774, is laid before the reader :

“ RESOLVED *nemine contradicente*, that the following acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the Colonists, and that the repeal of them is ESSENTIALLY NECESSARY, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American Colonies.

“ The several acts of 4 George III. chap. 15. and ch. 34. 5 Geo. 3d. ch. 25. 6 Geo. 3d. ch. 52. 7 Geo. 3d. ch. 41 and 46. 8 Geo. 3d. ch. 22. which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the power of the Admiralty Courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of a ship and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property; and are subversive of American rights.”

“ ALSO 12 Geo. 3. ch. 24 intitled, An Act for the better securing his Majesty's dock yards, magazines, ships, ammunition and stores,” which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury of

“ the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of
 “ any person charged with the committing
 “ any offence described in the said act out of
 “ the realm, to be indicted and tried for
 “ the same, in any shire or county within
 “ the realm.”

“ ALSO the three acts passed in the last
 “ session of parliament, for stopping the port,
 “ and blocking up the harbour of Boston,
 “ for altering the charter of government of
 “ Massachusset’s Bay ; and that which is in-
 “ titled, An Act for the better administra-
 “ tion of justice,” &c.

“ ALSO the act passed in the same session,
 “ for establishing the Roman Catholic reli-
 “ gion in the province of Quebec, abolish-
 “ ing the equitable system of English laws ;
 “ and erecting a tyranny there, to the great
 “ danger, from so total a dissimilarity of
 “ religion, law, and government to the neigh-
 “ bouring British Colonies, by the assistance
 “ of whose blood and treasure, the said
 “ country was conquered from France.”

“ ALSO the act passed in the same session,
 “ for the better providing suitable quarters
 “ for officers and soldiers in his Majesty’s
 “ service in North America.”

“ ALSO, that the keeping a standing army
 “ in several of these Colonies in times of
 “ peace, without the consent of the legisla-
 “ ture of that Colony in which the army is
 “ kept, is against law.”

Here the Colonies insist upon the repeal
 of *fourteen* different acts of Parliament,
 many of which have no relation *whatever*, to
 the imposition of a revenue ; yet we are in-
 cessantly

cessantly assured by their adherents on this side the Atlantic, that they require nothing in nature at our hands, but to be exempted from the *single* claim of Taxation.

It is besides well worth observing, that the Congress in this extensive attack upon the powers of the British Legislature, mention the repeal of the foregoing acts merely as a *preliminary* to peace, and do not once tell us, that if we even rescind them *all*, the sacrifice will be sufficient to re-establish our former tranquillity; on the contrary, they barely resolve, that "the repeal of them is *essentially necessary* in order to restore harmony," and even more than insinuate, by an introductory paragraph to the Resolutions which I have quoted, that if the fourteen obnoxious laws particularly specified in their pamphlet are given up, they are prepared to exhibit a fresh catalogue of grievances.

To prove this assertion, it is proper to acquaint the reader, that the Congress, having taken a retrospect of the laws imposed upon them in former reigns, and modestly given themselves a Bill of Rights to their own mind, maintain the following language in the seventh page of their pamphlet published in 1774.

"In the course of our inquiry we find
 "many infringements and violations of the
 "foregoing *rights*; which, from an ardent
 "desire that harmony and mutual inter-
 "course of affection and interest may be
 "restored, we pass over for *the present*, and
 "proceed to state such acts and measures
 "as have been adopted since the *last war*,
 A 4 "which

“ which demonstrate a system formed to
“ enslave America.”

Such was the printed language of the Colonies, even before the sword was drawn, yet we are told that they wanted nothing but the liberty of granting their own money, and that we should have been now reaping the plentiful harvest of their commerce, if we had only given up our unprofitable claim to the imposition of a revenue.

Nothing, however, can be a clearer proof that the Colonies were, at all events, determined to *create* a ground of quarrel with their Mother Country, than the introduction of the Act which grants the Popish religion to the inhabitants of Canada, into the catalogue of their grievances; because the very pamphlet which contains their complaint of this Act, contains also a letter to the Canadians, questioning not only the security given to popery, but declaring that the enjoyment of it, is a RIGHT to which they are entitled from the IMMEDIATE GIFT OF GOD.

If the reader will be at the trouble of perusing a little tract lately published by NICOLL, intitled HYPOCRISY UNMASKED, OR A SHORT ENQUIRY INTO THE RELIGIOUS COMPLAINTS OF OUR AMERICAN COLONIES, he will see this fact, singular as it may appear at a first view, proved beyond the possibility of a question; he will also see that popery, so far from gaining an original establishment in British America by the Canada Act, was established in Maryland above

120 years before Canada was ceded to this kingdom; and he will likewise see, that in the Province of Pensylvania, where the Congress is at this moment deliberating, the Roman Catholics are as eligible as Protestants, even to the highest employments of the Government.

But as it may happen that the reader will not have HYPOCRISY UNMASKED at his hand to consult, I shall extract the passage from the 72d page of the pamphlet published by the Congress in the year 1774, where the Delegates, telling the Canadians what rights belong to British subjects, endeavour to flatter them into rebellion, by affecting a warm solicitude for their religion, and an ardent admiration for their French ancestry.—“ These (say they) are
 “ the RIGHTS you are entitled to, and ought
 “ at this moment in perfection to exercise.—
 “ And what is offered to you by the late Act
 “ of Parliament in their place? *Liberty of*
 “ *conscience in your religion?* — No — *God*
 “ *gave it to you,* and the temporal powers
 “ with which you have been, and are connected, *firmly stipulated* for your enjoyment of it. If laws *divine* and *human*
 “ could secure it against the despotic
 “ caprices of *wicked* men, it was secure *before.*”

What is the world to think of American sincerity on a perusal of the foregoing declaration? The Punic faith so stigmatized by all the historians of antiquity, is downright candour, when compared to the professions of the Congress—Yet the American

cans want nothing *more* than an exemption from our revenue laws, though they have unblushingly told us that the repeal of an act is *essentially necessary* to peace, which secures the enjoyment of a religion to the Canadians, derived according to their own written assertion, from the *immediate gift*, of God.

The Colonies, in fact, are either utterly regardless of what falsehoods they assert, or imagine that the people of Great Britain have not sense enough to discover the grossness of such impudent contradictions. In page 41 of the pamphlet which has been so repeatedly quoted, they thus address this kingdom, "Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored."—The first article, nevertheless, on the muster-roll of their grievances is an Act of Parliament passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Eighth, as the reader may see by turning to page 1 of the foregoing publication.

It is true, the Americans quibble upon this Act, and tell us, it is not the 35th of Henry the Eighth, to which they object, but the late Resolution of Parliament declaring that law to be still in force. Let us grant them the weight of this objection, yet let us at the same time observe, that they were *taxed* from the twenty-fifth of Charles the Second, and bound *in all cases whatsoever* by seventh and eighth of William and Mary *, *above half*

* See this unanswerably proved, in the Plain Question on the present dispute with our American Colonies, published by Wilkie.

a century before the late war was commenced. If therefore the system of 1763, (the year in which the peace was concluded,) would have satisfied the Americans when they published their long list of grievances, they must expressly acknowledge the injustice of their own complaints, and not only admit our right to *tax* them, but recognize moreover the *universal* supremacy of Parliament.

Perfectly aware of the dilemma in which they are involved, the Colonies labour to change the nature of every Act in former reigns, which makes against their cause, and contend that all the laws *previous* to the stamp duty, were no more than *regulations of trade*, which rendered them positively subject to a *revenue*. To support this wretched argument, they tell us, that the essential words of Taxation are no where to be found in the laws alluded to, and that the Stamp Act was the first instance, where Parliament assumed the power to GIVE AND GRANT the money of the Americans.

Perhaps, if any friend of the constitution was to enter into a serious refutation of this groundless assertion, the adherents of America might still continue quibbling on words, and endeavour to confound where they could not convince the understanding. I shall therefore prove from one of their most formidable champions, from Doctor PRICE himself, that the money of America was GIVEN AND GRANTED by the British Commons, not only before the accession of his present Majesty, but before his present Majesty was born; and the reader will of course be satisfied

that the system of 1763 would have as completely *taxed* the Americans, as the Stamp Act, which they made the *ostensible* ground of clamour against this kingdom.

“ In the sixth year of George the Second, (says Doctor PRICE in the 61st page of his Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty) an Act was passed for imposing certain Duties on all foreign Spirits, Molasses and Sugars, imported into the Plantations. In this Act, the duties imposed are said to be *given and granted* by the Parliament to the King; and this is the *first* American Act in which these words have been used. But notwithstanding this, as the Act had the appearance of being only a regulation of trade, the Colonies *submitted* to it; and a small *direct* revenue was drawn by it from them.”

Here at last we find popularity confessing that America was *directly* taxed, even in the all-admired reign of George the Second; yet the Congress deny, with the strongest asseverations, that the Provinces aim at independency, and instance the uniform obedience which they have ever shewn to our laws, till the present unfortunate dispute, as a proof of their willingness to allow us every degree of authority consistent with the constitution. Unluckily for the Delegates, we have such things as Courts of Records, and printed Acts of Parliament, to overthrow this presumptive evidence of good behaviour in the Americans. Even so early as the reign of Charles the Second, the leading Province in rebellion, Massachu-
sets

sets Bay, manifested such a passion for independency as incurred a forfeiture of charter; and, in the year 1732, the merchants of London trading to America, were obliged to petition Parliament against a spirit of *more* than independency exerted in several of the Colonies; these Colonies had temerity enough, not only to pass laws declaring their lands and negroes exempted from demands in debt, but the still farther temerity of laying higher duties "upon the ships and goods of persons residing in this kingdom," than they "laid upon the ships and goods of persons (I speak the language of the petition) inhabiting in the said Colonies." Here was a double oppression on the English merchant; for if in the first place, an American debtor turned the produce of any goods which he obtained from the Mother Country, either into lands or negroes, the creditor was without a remedy; and, in the second place, the English merchant, by being charged with higher duties than the resident Colonist, was robbed of his equality as a subject, and actually taxed by the Provincial Assemblies, for the circumstance of living in England. The case appearing extremely strong to Parliament, the injustice of the Colonies was restrained, and the very nature of inheritance absolutely changed among them by the 5th of George the Second, that freeholds in descent might be liable to the claims of British creditors*.

* See the Plain Question,

In the same strain that the Colonies talk of their constant good behaviour under our laws, they boast of their uniform readiness upon *all* occasions to contribute their portion of the public expence when constitutionally called upon. They celebrate their own merit, however, in this respect with very little justice, for if they had merely contributed to the expence of their own government, the Stamp Act would never have been instituted. Mr. Grenville, in the year 1764, told all the Colony agents who attended him in a body about the Stamp Act, which was then only in agitation, “ that he was not set
 “ upon that tax. That if the Americans
 “ disliked it, and preferred any other method
 “ of raising money themselves, he should be
 “ content. He said, however, the late
 “ war had found us 70 millions in debt, and
 “ had left us more than 140. He knew
 “ that all men wished not to be taxed,
 “ but that in these unhappy circumstances
 “ it was his duty, as a steward for the Public,
 “ to make use of every just means of improving the public revenue. That he
 “ never meant to charge the Colonies with
 “ any part of the interest of the national
 “ debt. But besides that public debt, the
 “ nation had incurred a great annual expence in the maintaining of the several
 “ new conquests which we had made during
 “ the war, and by which the Colonies were
 “ so much benefited. That the American
 “ civil and military establishment after the
 “ peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was only 70,000*l*.
 “ per annum; it was now increased to
 “ 350,000*l*.

“ 350,000l. This was a great additional
 “ expence incurred upon an American ac-
 “ count, and he thought therefore that A-
 “ merica ought to *contribute* towards it. He
 “ did not expect that the Colonies should
 “ raise the *whole*, but *some part* of it he
 “ thought they ought to raise; and the
 “ Stamp Act was intended for that purpose.
 “ Write therefore (said Mr. Grenville to
 “ the agents) to your several Colonies,
 “ and if they choose any other mode, I
 “ shall be satisfied, provided the money be
 “ but raised.”

This interesting narrative I have taken
 from the 97th and 98th pages of the *Short
 View of the History of the New England Co-
 lonies**, written by Mr. MAUDUIT, one of
 the agents who attended Mr. Grenville on
 the above remarkable business; and whose
 account, (if any such confirmation can be
 necessary,) is confirmed by Mr. MONTAGU,
 the agent for Virginia, present also at the con-
 ference with Mr. Grenville.

The Colonies being written to agreeably
 to Mr. Grenville's desire, the Province of
 Massachusets Bay returned the following
 answer to their agent, dated Boston, June
 14th, 1764 †.

“ SIR, * * *

“ THE actual laying the Stamp Duty,
 “ you say, is deferred till next year,
 “ Mr. Grenville being willing to give the

* 4th Edition, and sold by Wilkie.

† See Mauduit's *Short View*, page 99.

“ Provinces

“ Provinces their option to raise that, or
 “ some equivalent tax ; desirous, as he was
 “ pleased to express himself, to consult the
 “ ease and quiet, and the good will, of the
 “ Colonies.

“ If the ease, the quiet, and the good-will
 “ of the Colonies are of any importance to
 “ Great Britain, no measures could be hit
 “ upon, that have a more natural and
 “ direct tendency to enervate these princi-
 “ ples, than the resolution you enclosed.

“ The kind offer of suspending the Stamp
 “ duty, in the manner, and upon the condi-
 “ tion you mention, amounts to no more
 “ than this, that if the Colonies will not tax
 “ themselves as they may be directed, par-
 “ liament will tax them.

“ You are to remonstrate against these
 “ measures, and if possible to obtain a repeal
 “ of the Sugar Act, and prevent the imposi-
 “ tion of any further duties or taxes on the
 “ Colonies.—Measures will be taken that
 “ you may be joined by all the other agents.”

One of the measures taken, according to
 Mr. MADUIT, for the purpose mentioned by
 the province of Massachusset's Bay, was to
 print the foregoing letter, and to send it to
 the other Colonies. The consequence is
 here fully before the Public.—The Ameri-
 cans not only refused to contribute a shilling,
 even upon *earnest requisition*, towards the
 charge of their *own* government, but actually
 desired to have a reduction of the little which
 they had formerly contributed ! Yet we are
 perpetually stunned with their readiness to raise
 supplies,

supplies, *whenever* they were *constitutionally required*; and eternally told how liberally they would have joined in the common expences of the Empire, if we had barely allowed them the poor indulgence of taxing themselves.

It is confessed by Mr. BURKE in his speech upon American Taxation, page 93, that if the Colonies refuse to tax themselves, there must be a constitutional power in parliament to raise a revenue upon them. "Suppose (says this gentleman) "that requisitions are "not obeyed? What, shall there be no re- "served power in the Empire to supply a "deficiency which may weaken, divide, and "dissipate the whole? We are engaged in "a war—The Secretary of State calls upon "the Colonies to contribute—Some would "do it—I think most would furnish *whatever* "is demanded. One or two suppose hang "back, and easing themselves, lay the stress "on others. Surely it is proper that some "authority might legally say, TAX YOUR- "SELVES FOR THE COMMON SUPPLY, OR "THE PARLIAMENT WILL DO IT FOR "YOU." Such is Mr. BURKE's opinion on this important point; yet Mr. BURKE is one of the foremost champions for America, and though an agent for New York, peremptorily denies, that any option of self-taxation was ever offered to the Colonies.

The Congress, to aggravate the cruelty of our conduct, talk much of being exhausted by their over-exertions in the course of the late war: they are now however boasting of their

their immensed resources, and can find revenues enough to distress their Mother Country, though they were so recently without a single fund, to alleviate the burdens which she generously incurred for their protection.

The Delegates remind us frequently of the mighty services which they rendered in the conquest of *French* America, during the course of the last war; but they quite forget that the last war was undertaken wholly upon their account, and forget also, they are now fighting to wrest the whole of *British* America out of our hands.

We are incessantly told, how much we are indebted to the commercial utility of the Provinces; that commercial utility was the original end of their establishment; yet it should be remembered, that if the Mother Country owes them *much*, they owe *all* to the Mother Country.

As a justification of their conduct, the Colonies dwell strongly upon the repeated rejection of their Petitions by both Houses of Parliament.—This however, is rather an aggravation of their guilt, than an argument of their innocence; for, in the very circumstance of *petitioning*, they solemnly recognized the supremacy of the legislature; and appealed to that authority which they admitted constitutionally competent to decide upon the propriety or impropriety of their supplications. Besides, if every thing presented in the form of a petition, *must* be complied with of necessity, there is an instant end of all government.—The humility of prayer swells up into the despotism of com-

command, and the meanest ale-house club may at any time overturn the whole constitution.

But to refute the charge of independency brought against the Americans, the present Congress have petitioned the King, that he will graciously propose some plan to re-establish the former harmony, which substituted between the Mother Country and the Provinces. It is true, the Congress have petitioned his Majesty for that purpose, yet while they professed themselves his most loyal subjects, they have fought against his authority; and made the conciliatory proposal sent out by his government last year, a new foundation of grievances.

The Colonies, tell us that they are our brethren—We admit the claim; but do not see that the tenderness of this relation gives them a right to rob us of our dominions, or a title to cut the throats of all those who are willing to continue in obedience to our authority.

It is frequently asked, what we shall do if we are not successful in the present war with America? At any rate we shall do as well, as by complying with the demands of the Colonies.—Under the most adverse circumstances of fortune, we can only pronounce them independent; and it would be no less a stain upon our national understanding, than a stigma upon our public spirit, to make a discretionary surrender of every thing at the commencement of a war, for fear we should be defeated in the end.

But

But it is observed, in case we *succeed*, that a chain of ruined Provinces can never answer any objects of commerce; and that little is to be expected from the reluctant obedience of a vanquished enemy. To the first of these remarks I reply, that ruined as the Provinces may be at the end of the present war, they will nevertheless be in a situation infinitely preferable to that in which we originally thought them of consequence to our commercial prosperity.

With regard to what we are to expect from the reluctant obedience of a vanquished enemy, I answer, that we were conquered by the Norman William, yet he found us worth reigning over, though we obeyed him reluctantly. Ireland was conquered by English arms, yet we have not a more faithful people in our dominions. Wales was also conquered, yet we cannot say too much in favour of that antient principality; and we now see a lately conquered Colony of *French Papists* firmly attached to our government, while twelve Protestant provinces are in open rebellion, though originally bound to us by every tie of natural affection.

The most whimsical declaration of all however is, that our parliaments during the present reign, have been infamously corrupt; *therefore* the Americans advise us to throw the whole weight of the Colonies into the scale of the crown, the very power which they pronounce the grand cause of all this scandalous corruption.

Yet let us for a moment examine the proofs which the parliaments of the *present* reign

reign have given of their venality. Since the accession of his majesty, the Courts of Justice have been rendered independent. Parliamentary privilege has been abridged. The speaker of the House of Commons has acquired a power to issue writs where vacancies occur during the intervals of recess; (a regulation which materially promotes the interests of freedom) and to close the exalted roll of benefits, we have lately acquired a second Magna Charta in the law for regulating the trial of contested elections.

Nor has the hand of parliamentary goodness been solely confined to this kingdom. An effectual stop has been put to those barbarities which disgraced the British name in the East, and even repeated attentions have been paid to the commerce of the Colonies. An Act passed in the 4th of George the Third, ch. 26, grants a bounty on American hemp and flax. Chapter 27 of the same year, allows a liberty of exporting rice from South Carolina and Georgia, to any part of America southward of these Colonies, and to any part of Europe south of Cape Finisterre. The 4th of Geo. III. ch. 29. encourages the Provincial Whale Fishery, and the 5th of Geo. III. ch. 35. gives a still farther encouragement to the trade of America*.

* Ireland also in the present reign, has its freedom greatly secured by the act for octennial Parliaments; this benefit indeed was not immediately bestowed by the British legislature, but serves strongly to mark how the love of Liberty has been encouraged since the accession of his Majesty.

Such

Such has been the conduct of those parliaments which the Colonies are hourly execrating ; yet as independency is the grand aim of the Americans, we must not wonder that they endeavour to render the only power detestable, which is able to keep them within the bounds of their original subordination.

The Americans profess an amazing readiness to acknowledge a dependence upon the person of the sovereign, but will not be subjects to fellow-subjects. The reason of this distinction is obvious ; because, if they can once obtain an exemption from the supremacy of Parliament, there is no power whatever to keep them in a state of submission to the crown, and they become instantly possessed of their darling independency. It is proper therefore to observe, that the monarch of this country glories in being himself a subject to the laws, and his best title is that of **FIRST MAGISTRATE TO THE PEOPLE**. The Colonies are the *public dominions* of the *realm*, not the *private patrimony* of the *prince* : they were subjects to this kingdom when the kingly office was *abolished*, and their consent was neither asked to the exclusion of James the Second, nor to the elevation of William at the glorious Revolution.

If any farther proof was necessary of the independency aimed at by the Americans, we have it in the common cause which they have made of the punishment inflicted upon the town of Boston. In the 41st page of their pamphlet they say, that "*the same might have happened to them all*"—And why should it not, if they had been *all* equally

equally culpable? Society is at an end, if the guilty are not to be punished for fear of alarming the innocent, and the various corporations of this kingdom might with just as much propriety rise in arms, because Parliament disfranchised the Christian club at Shoreham, or because a bill of penalties was lately brought in against the prostitute Borough of Hindon.

The endless falsehoods in which we detect the Colonies, may convince us that, highly desirable as peace must be, we have but little to hope from the candour of negotiation. We cannot trust the most solemn engagement of a people so perfidious, and were they at this moment inclined to acknowledge the universal supremacy of the legislature, the acknowledgment would not be worth our acceptance, unless effectual care was taken to secure their obedience for the future.

It is not the change of ministers *here*, which can produce a change of sentiments in America, for the Provinces are equally averse to the Acts of every administration. LORD ROCKINGHAM bound them *in all cases whatsoever*. The DUKE OF GRAFTON revived the parliamentary claim to tax them after the repeal of the Stamp Act; and even LORD CHATHAM in his conciliatory plan, page 7, declares that the king cannot render his right of keeping an army in America *dependent* upon the will of the *Provincial Assemblies* "without a most dangerous derogation from the dignity of his crown;"

the

the Congress therefore cannot be very desirous of his lordship's return to power, when they have made such a sacrifice of the royal prerogative an indispensable condition in the specified list of grievances. Nothing then remains since the Americans have drawn the sword, but to terminate the quarrel effectually, and to prove that the same arm which protected them in the day of distress, is now able to chastise the insolence of their prosperity.

It is said, indeed, that if the Americans are even conquered, we cannot keep them in a state of subjection without a large army. Very likely. Yet in that case a large army must be provided. Should 40,000 men be unequal to the task, let 60,000 be raised. But it may be asked by whom so prodigious a force is to be paid? I answer, by the Colonies undoubtedly. As their rebellion has created the necessity of such a military establishment, it is surely reasonable that the weight of it should be placed upon their shoulders. They now boast of being able to pay 200,000 men for the maintenance of civil war, and of consequence they may well support a fourth part of the number for the preservation of general tranquillity.

THE END.

